III. DELAWARE SOCIOLOGY

As is true of all people on a comparable technological level, Delaware social organization was based upon ties of kinship. Or to put it another way, the organization by which the technology was operated and the ways in which individuals behaved toward one another were regulated and determined by ties of relationship. But "the records of departed civilizations, archeological and documentary, are relatively rich in evidences as to technology, economics, religion, and government but poor in information as to rules of descent, kinship terminology, and other aspects of social organization."[1] This general condition is true of early Delaware culture, but if reliance is placed upon Murdock's suggestions, it is possible to move from the documentarily known to the deductive probable and to reconstruct with some success the early kinship structure.

Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Birth

Marital abstinence was practiced during pregnancy.[2] Heckewelder stated that husbands were solicitous of the whims of their wives during pregnancy, citing a case in which a man traveled at least forty miles to obtain cranberries with which "to satisfy his wife's longings."[3] During pregnancy meat was not touched with the hands, but was eaten with a stick.[4] One of my informants (J.T.) said that bird and animal livers could not be eaten during pregnancy. This may well be a vestige of the early taboo on meat. According to Harrington's Munsi informants:

> The husband of an expectant mother was often accompanied on his hunting trips by the spirit of the unborn child, whose romping and playing about the bushes, invisible to mortal eye, would nevertheless frighten away the deer and send the hunter home empty-handed. To prevent this a little bow and arrow were made and attached to the prospective father's garments, in the hope that the little spirit would play with them and stay quietly with his parent. Should this precaution fail, the child was thought to be a girl, and a little corn mortar and pestle were substituted. . . .[5]

Birth, which was reported to be easy,[6] seems to have taken place away from the village, either in a menstrual hut or simply out of doors. Mary Jemison (a white captive of the eighteenth century, married at one time

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 323.
[2] Thomas, 1912, p. 336; Penn, 1912, p. 232; Holm, 1834, p. 126.
[3] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 159.
[4] Holm, 1834, p. 126.
[5] Harrington, 1913, p. 212.
[6] Holm, 1834, p. 126.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of war or the like; their usual time is about *Michaelmass*, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw, most of them go a hunting for venison: When they are all congregated, their priest tells them if he want money, their God will accept of no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money according to their ability.[42]

This is the sort of description of a pretribal ceremony which one would expect from a seventeenth-century writer. The hunt for venison and the use of wampum were, for example, integral features of the later Big House Ceremony. Speck has suggested that the historic form of the ceremony developed from "rites managed by the ceremonial group (Turkey, Tortoise, Wolf)" which, in turn, developed from family or individual rites.[43] In historic times each phratry varied somewhat from the others in the performance of the ceremony; that of the Wolf phratry, for instance, lasted only eight days, whereas the ceremony of the Turkey phratry lasted twelve days.[44] In a sense, then, the ceremony never attained complete tribal integration. Since Speck's studies of the Big House Ceremony are relatively complete and are complemented by those of Zeisberger, Trowbridge, and Harrington, and by the eyewitness account by Luckenbach, it is not necessary here to give a detailed description of the historic ceremony; a brief synopsis taken from the accounts of these writers and from the descriptions given by my own informants should suffice.

After the Big House Ceremony became a tribal affair, it was held but once a year. It took place in a "big house," a building which also served as a council house and was similar in structure to the Iroquoian Long House. In the center of this structure was a pole, on the north and south sides of which were carved faces;[45] ten other identical faces were placed around the walls. Apparently this was the practice before 1763.[46] The participants camped near the Big House for the duration of the ceremony, the women to the north and the men to the south (M.B.). Throughout this period celibacy was practiced, participants were supposed to be in a pure and clean frame of mind, and menstruating women were not allowed inside the Big House. Offenders were removed from the building by the Mask Being or other officials.[47] One individual, known as the "bringer-in," sponsored and led the ceremony, and the phratry to which he belonged determined the exact form the ceremony was to take. One source stated that in each phratry there was a family which inherited the right to sponsor the annual ceremony;[48] possibly this was a vestige of the individual or family rites from which it evolved.

[42] Denton, 1845, p. 7.
[43] Speck, 1950, p. 27.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 16; Harrington, 1913, p. 230.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[46] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118, dates this feature after 1824, but Bartram and Kenny apparently saw such a ceremonial structure in August, 1761 (Kenny, 1913, p. 22).
[47] Trowbridge MS; M.B.
[48] Trowbridge MS.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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224 852 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because 688 178 experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[253] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

● 784 276 No young Indian in those days would have dared to take the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, raccoon, fox, pole-cat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out. This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

D 841 poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the D 784 menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition 262 prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to 841 be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom I [841] does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their usual work and remain in the house.

D 584 In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends a present of blankets, stronds, linen and whatever else the Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative. In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly D. [591] married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians. Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

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The herbalist, before using herbs previously gathered and dried, performs the same rite of smoking and prayer. If the plants are being gathered for future rather than for immediate use, an appeal is made to the Creator to bless the plants and render the remedies effective in curing the future ills of his grandchildren.

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The custom of offering prayers before the gathering and preparation of medicinal plants is not observed exclusively by the medicine men but is known to every Delaware. However, it was remarked that many fail to adhere to the ancient rite.

In observing Wi·tapanóxwe I was charmed by the delicate and reverential manner in which he handled the plants secured and arranged for this study. At this time he emphasized the idea of conservation, stating that one should gather only what was needed, and that vegetation in general should not be subjected to ruthless treatment.

[577]
[823
784]

Purity means much to the conservative Delaware and so the pure plants, as taken from Mother Earth, must not be defiled. It is therefore important that in order to avoid contamination no metal should come in contact with plants that are to be used in the treatment of disease. Roots and plants are allowed to dry in the sun, its rays lending them added potency. In this connection it is considered highly beneficial for a convalescing person to lie directly in the sun, so that its strengthenings qualities may be transferred to him. After the process of curing, roots and leaves are prepared by crushing them in a non-metallic receptacle, a stone basin or a wooden mortar being used for the purpose.

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The herbalist smokes and offers a prayer while the medicine is being prepared and is always careful to stir it in the same direction—from left to right. One should never blow upon the concoction to cool it; to do so would represent an affront to the spirit of the plant.

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The most able practioner will not treat himself when ill, nor a sick member of his family, but always calls upon the service of another.[14]

If an herbalist or sweat doctor, after diagnosing a case, feels that it is beyond his power to effect a cure, he will send the patient to another more capable of treating him successfully. Sometimes a sick person

[14] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief."

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

The Dog as a Vicar of Children

231 751 854 Upon the birth of a Delaware child, it was given a pet [16] to serve as the guardian of its health. If there was sickness about, the Delaware believed that it would be visited upon the dog instead of its little master. The animal was thought to say, "I am only a dog, the child is more precious." A small bag containing charcoal was tied around the pet animal's neck by the child's parents. Frequently they would talk to the dog. If the animal died, it was buried and the child given another pet. However, if the child fell sick and died, a release ceremony was performed [17] by placing a string of wampum about its neck, thus freeing the animal.[18]

Notes on Pregnancy and Child-birth

843 262 784 The prospective mother is advised to eat sparingly. Sour foods should not be eaten during the final stage of pregnancy as they are believed to cause contraction of the muscles. Onions and cabbage are also excluded from the diet. Salt is forbidden both before and after pregnancy, as it is thought to stop the flow of blood. Lifting heavy objects should be avoided during pregnancy and for a period of a month after delivery. A pregnant woman should not gaze at a deformed person or make fun of him, as it might affect her child. Care is also taken to avoid being frightened by dogs and other animals.

844 The woman is usually attended by a midwife who is given gifts of calico, tobacco, etc., from the woman's husband. To women over thirty years of age, a special medicine is given to shorten the period of labor.[19] The delivery is made in a kneeling position. Immediately after, a tea made from "pleurisy root" is administered. The navel cord is cut off about one and a half inches from the body. A piece of lead about two inches in diameter is bound to the body over the navel by a cloth. This bandage is kept in place until healing is complete, to avoid protrusion of the navel.

845 In case of still-birth, special treatment is given the mother. Still-birth is believed due to the child being hurt. "The child-killing sickness of women is hard to overcome." Twins are believed to have been con-

[16] Known by a term meaning "pet given child."

[17] See also p. 67 for release of a bear.

[18] As dictated by Wi-tapanòxwe.

[19] "The women know of certain medicines," according to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 56), "which usually act quickly in case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently."

Death

761 Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delaware burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long, in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze,[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

765 Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are: the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). 784 551 Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

753 Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional 755 people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

757 Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113). The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his 755 remedy over the patient's body. In addition to making and giving these remedies, the shaman frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted in such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XV.

CONCERNING THE PAAHRA, IDOLATRY, FAITH AND RELIGION AND SACRIFICES TO MANITTO: THE DEVIL, ALSO WHETHER THE INDIANS HAVE A KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST.

With reference to the religion of the Indians [it is to be observed] that they adopt their *Pâdhra*[1] or idol when they are about 15 years old. Thus the one makes for himself a child of skin with head, body, arms, hands, legs and feet to believe in. The other selects a lion claw, that one, a bear claw, this one, an eagle claw, that one, a lion tooth, this one, a bear tooth, this one, a bird bill, etc. In fine, whatever limb of any animal, bird, fish or other [living thing] they desire to choose for their god or *Pâdhra*, as they call [it], which is hung on a chain of their money on their breast, they consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it,—the one who attempts it, he becomes his chief enemy.[2] In this their god they have such a

[1] *Pâdhra (pōra)*. This is a cognate of *boahigan* (Penobscot), stem *boa (poa)*, which Prof. Speck says "denotes the concept of mystery." It is found in most dialects of the northeastern tribes, *bua-, pu-, bao-, pow-*, etc. *Boahigan*, which Speck says means "instrument of mystery," and Lindeström's *pâdhra (pōra, bōla)* possibly denote the same concept,—"object through which or by which mysterious power is obtained and practiced." Cf. Speck, *Penobscot Shamanism*, *Mem. of Am. Anth. Ass.*, VI, 249 ff. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 239 ff. For Dutch accounts, see De Vries, Van der Donck, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 138, 213, 227, etc.; II, 203; III, 956, 159, etc. Cf. also Brainerd, Journal (*Mirabilia Dei*, etc.); Hesselius, *Kort Berettelse* (1725), 2 ff.

[2] The taboo of charms and fetishes is common among primitive peoples. Even the natives of Cape Verde Islands will not allow their charms to be touched. They are civilized, call themselves

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 this is done they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes.[5] Then those who have been the dead
765 man's relatives and best friends set themselves down for about the period of a month to lament the departure of the dead one, singing, crying, howling and lamenting, so that it is heard for a long distance. Now when this time is past they dig up the dead one and take all his money off him, which they put in a box and place on the lowest rack or shelf, then each one takes a knife and thus cuts the flesh off the bones of the dead one, wrapping the flesh in chestnut bark, which they place on the second shelf or rack, wrapping in like manner the bones into chestnut bark [and] placing them on the upper shelf or rack; but the entrails they dig down in the hole. Afterwards they still set themselves down for about the period of 14 days and further lament the departure of the dead, and when now that time is over, then their sorrow and lamentation are gone. Those who then are the
[765] relatives and best friends of the dead take the money-chest, dividing it between themselves, and therewith go their way; but the scaffolding together with the other [things] remains standing as a monument until it falls and rots away. When
151 now the savage is thus buried the savages do not
● 784 wish to hear him mentioned by name again or to speak further about him. If the Christian should

[5] *Som buldaser hängiandes. Buldas* really means sail cloth or duck, but Lindeström apparently means stripe or fringes.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

happen to do this,[6] who does not know of their manner, then they hang their heads and sigh and puff severely, on account of it, not desiring to hear it mentioned.[7]

During these their burials there is often robbery committed by some of the Christians. Some scoundrels go to the savages and help them to mourn, pretending to be very sorrowful and sad, lamenting and weeping much worse and more miserably than the savages, saying that the [deceased] also had been their good friend, which the savages think is well, that they get company. These scoundrels watching their time, in the night when the savages sleep, steal away their money chest, so that the sorrow and lamentation for the savages become through this, deeper and greater.

[6] See above Chapt. II, note 27. Cf. also Van der Donck, etc.

[7] "Which bewailing is very solemne amongst them morning and evening, and sometimes in the Night they bewaile their lost husbands, wives, children, brethren, or sisters &c. Sometimes a quarter, halfe, yea, a whole yeare, and longer if it be for a great Prince. In this time (unlesse a dispensation be given) they count it a prophane thing either to play (as they much use to doe) or to paint themselves for beauty, but for mourning; or to be angry and fall out with any &c." Williams, *Key*, 54.

[p. 252 is blank]

79. Tell tribe and number by examining encampment †
80. Different from other tribes in color
81. language
82. religious tenets
83. greater degree of sociability, friendship, hospitality
84. Suppose themselves to be different (better)
85. Women's condition easy and contented
86. Women obliged to do all the drudgery
87. considered as menial servants of men
88. Spare lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them †

Birth and its incidents

89. Any ceremony at naming of child †
90. Any particular age of naming †
91. Names are descriptive
92. chosen by parents
93. from dreams of parents or grandparents
94. taken from father
95. taken from mother
96. taken from grandparents
97. Individual has more than one name
98. Change later in life
99. Individual selects
100. Generally unwilling to tell their names
101. Call one another by their names in their youth within the family
102. Children address parents by titles
103. Education consists of teaching how to hunt, instruction in religion and general advice
104. Restraint over children
105. Corporeal punishment †
106. Definite age at which childhood ceases †
107. Children ever adopted by near relatives
108. Orphans taken in without adoption by nearest relatives
109. by maternal grandparents
110. by paternal grandparents
111. by anyone in particular next
112. Are considered to belong to family with or without adoption

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side of hole. Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple of days. Payment is voluntary."

General Manners and Customs

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes with whom they were in contact from early historic times and before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine. These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström) and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

according to the length of his dream. Then they seat themselves and the room is swept by the woman at the doors the one that first spoke then shoves the shell under his legs to the next one, if he does not feel a disposition to tell his dream he shoves it to the next without shaking it, and it is shoved from one to another till it comes to one that wishes to tell his dream then he gives the shell a shake and after some minutes commences telling his dream while sitting but soon arises and the whole assembly with him he proceeds in the same manner as above mentioned. At intervals of telling dreams they appoint one or call one by name and give to him a piece of wampum then they call eleven more they go out of the meeting and make doleful noise which is similar to howling but they term it making twelve prayers or praying twelve times then they return in to the meeting and the foreman that is the one that was first called divides the wampum among the twelves that went out. Then commence telling dreams as before and going out to pray in the same manner thus they [704] continue for 12 days and twelve nights abstaining themselves from women and every thing whereby they think they could be defiled. In these meetings they always have one appointed and dressed in bear skins appearing very frightful to go round and examine and see if there is any improper conduct if so he points the stick at him or her which he has in his hand, the door-keepers immediately put the person out of the door and those who are put out are not admitted into the meeting any more. Previous to these meetings they appoint a number of young men to go and kill a certain number of deer which they think will be sufficient to last them during the meeting, these are dressed, their provisions cooked and served to them while in their worship by those that they call their butchers.

Captain Pipe—The grand national worship of the Delawares has been already alluded to, and I come now to a description of it. It is called Engŏmween. There are three or four families in the nation whose duty it is by inheritance to prepare for and invite the nation to this assembly, and to whose care is committed every arrangement respecting it. Each family takes upon itself the performance of these duties once in three years; and as they

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

accepted the turtle by the shake of accession, he remains in a state of apparent meditation for a few minutes, and then rising gives it another rattle, when, as in the preceding instance, he is joined by all the worshipers and the same ceremonies of repeating the dream, are performed.

The worship is commenced at evening and continued until daybreak, when it ceases for the day during which time the worshipers remain in the lodge in perfect silence. Thus it is repeated from night to night six times, and at the closing of the last night they adjourn for an hour or two, and then finish the worship with the relation of the dream of some extraordinary personage, whose history has been preserved in tradition. They cease at noon of the last day.

To discharge the menial services incident to the meeting of so large a body four servants are appointed, of whom two are males and two females. They sweep the council house at every interval of worship and perform any other duty required of them, for which they receive a compensation in wampum before the close of the meeting. To this stock of wampum when collected by the principal or leader of the assembly all contribute who have the means. Besides these officers, an old man of the juggling class is employed to keep order in the assembly. It is supposed he can tell by going around the lodge whether any person has been polluted since the commencement of the worship, by connection with the opposite sex. To such person he points a stick and if he be a man the male servants lead him out of the lodge, from which he is expelled during the remainder of the worship. If a woman the same service is performed by the female domestics. The old inquisitor is dressed in the skin of a bear, with a frightful mask on his face, and is said to be a terrific object, particularly to those guilty of a breach of the customs of the assembly. His attention is often roused by the complaints of some one while telling his dream, who will stop and pretending to find a difficulty in speaking will ascribe it to the improper conduct of one of the members. Upon such occasion the old man commences his examination and his scrutinizing eye points out the object (perhaps innocent as himself) who is immediately removed, and the speaker continues.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 538 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

JOHN JOHNSTON—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments. 361 726

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know who had been there, and which direction they went. The way they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp. [202]

79. Identification of makers of encampment

JOHN JOHNSTON—They can [identify them] because every tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them. 361 202

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents. 181

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

HECKEWELDER stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 784 825

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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784 825 JOHN JOHNSTON—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. Naming of child

553 [776] CAPTAIN PIPE—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[814] CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, 351 sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The 553 father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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553 being descriptive may be more appropriate for children; at others because the subject has performed some remarkable feat of bravery or is otherwise deserving of a favorite name.

[551] E. R. and W. L. said that there were no second names except English ones and nicknames.

103. Education

867 869 CAPTAIN PIPE—Each man considers it his duty to advise the children of the same tribe with himself, and to instruct them by precept the way they should go, and to this kind of advice the father, though he may be never so great a scoundrel, is very particular, always enforcing the duty of correctness in their moral conduct. There is no system of education among them.

The account of the way J. W. was raised was recorded, practically verbatim, as follows:

When I was a baby they took good care of me—raise me so I could walk. When I was little my mother had to be awfully [262] careful. There was a certain food she must not eat. Not any side meat, or inside (liver, etc.) while nursing. Ham and shoulders all right—gave her strength. Any kind of vegetables, fruits, were all right. Anything cracked like nuts must not be eaten. Hominy all right. Must be careful about going [784] places, seeing things that surprise you which might get inside and affect child through milk. No cradles—wrap up in nice little clean cloths.

262 869 When I can eat: must not eat lots of different foods; such as like egg, inside meat; only outside but just good meat—none close to joint or head. Corn, vegetables all right, fruits all right but just so much.

When I can help myself—so I can see, eat by myself, well then any food, nuts or meat must not be eaten first, but give to either father, mother or other old folks, and then eat and as much as I want. Then they tell me certain parts I must not eat from then on until I am a man. They say don't ever eat egg, no liver, don't drink soup, unless you tell me, then I tell you what to do before you take, to give you strength. I say I want soup—they say run about a quarter of a mile (after taking).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

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A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel-'kanom, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pole' which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty, every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.